2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

Before starting, the Djukas take a sniff of tobacco. They prefer snuffing it to smoking. They suck up their wide brown nostrils a dark liquid made from tobacco leaf soaked in water, to which a little wood-ash has been added. Each man carries a small supply, in a calabash gourd or tiny tin can. Before taking a sniff they put their fingers in the gourd and knead the leaf to get out all the juice. Then a little is poured out in the palm of the hand and snuffed up. They make a wry face at it, shaking their heads violently and spitting.

They pass it to the bahkra with a sly smile.

"Wannee?"

"No, no, no. *Me dissee no lubee; gran danke!*" which means, "I don't like this; many thanks!"

Late in the afternoon we come upon the camp of some balata bleeders. It is deserted. There is an unforgettable sour stench from the last fermenting sap. For a while it is sickening and overwhelms every other odour. The balata bleeders are usually British Guiana Negroes, or Djukas trained by them, who go through the jungle tapping the sap from wild rubber trees. They produce sheets of a crude rubber, known as balata, which are traded in the white settlements of Demerara or Paramaribo. The chief industries of the bush country are balata bleeding, lumbering, and washing for gold. All of them are carried on exclusively by Negroes.

A few sheets of balata, about a half-inch thick, are hanging from poles. The Djukas assert that the shotguns of the white man cannot shoot through the stiff rubber. We stand off about fifty feet and bang away. Strangely enough, the

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Although the huts are of Africanesque architecture, similar 342
to those of the Aucaner tribe, there is, at times, more wooden board in the construction and less thatch.

During the expedition of 1928 we were informed that the 316
Bonis, particularly at the village of Apatoo, were conversant 326
with the old West African method of smelting iron and manufacturing it into implements of various kinds. This claim proved to be entirely groundless. If there is any iron ore in the neighbourhood, these tribesmen do not know where it is, and most certainly do not understand how to smelt it.

It was in Africa that the art of iron working is supposed to have originated, and the iron work of West Africa, whence the Djukas came, is a thing of beauty. But the Djukas have lost this hereditary art. Among the Bonis, the work in metal seems to be limited to the soldering of copper French coins to bracelets made of iron or copper pipe, which they procure by trade or from the machinery of long abandoned French gold exploitations. They also make brass bracelets and anklets of considerable width out of brass piping obtained from a similar source. The piping is split with the sharp blade of an axe and hammered into shape with the blunt end. We were able to obtain a stiletto with an iron blade and a handle of brass riveted to it with copper, but we are under the impression that the blade, at least, is of French or Italian manufacture.

In their general habits as regards hunting, fishing, agri- 184
culture, canoe building, social customs and structure, dress, 619
and so on, the Bonis are quite similar to the Aucaners. They speak a dialect of talkee-talkee which has distinct differences [191
from the Aucaner and the Saramaccaner in that it contains a 197]
good deal of French words.

/81 cont./

423 The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other
22 rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a
613 village, whatever their kinship may be.
621 For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small
425 creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Dju, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right
224 to hunt anywhere.

222 The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making
313 planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

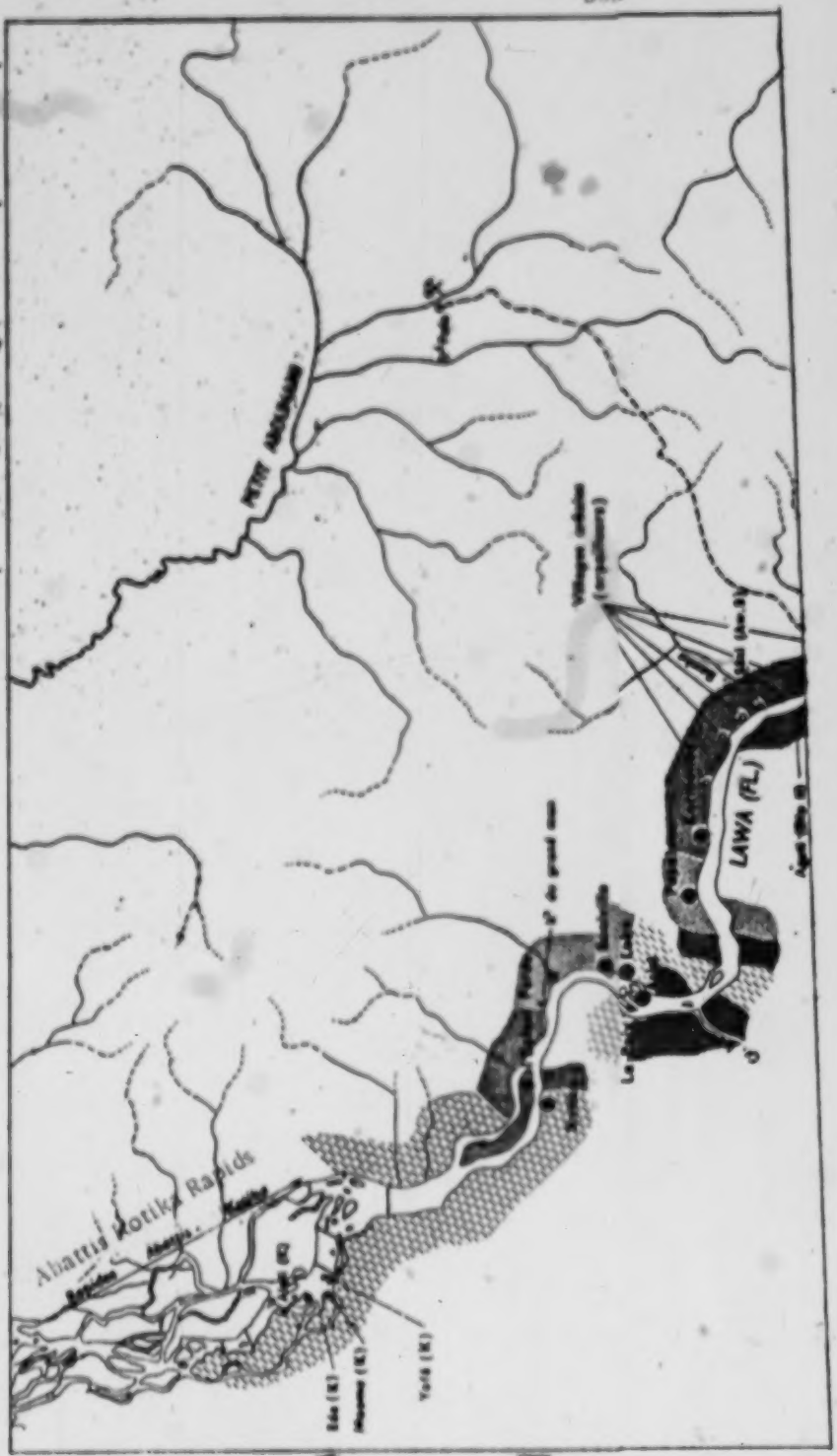
The right to collect underground products is completely
423 independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds
316 a seam of kaolin (pemba) on the lands of another lineage, he
317 exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the
423 point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to
316 exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners.
648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621



[End Map - A]

6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

LAWA (FL)

Bendsdorp
Mines

Wacapou

Maripasoula

Village créoles
(orpailleurs)

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING

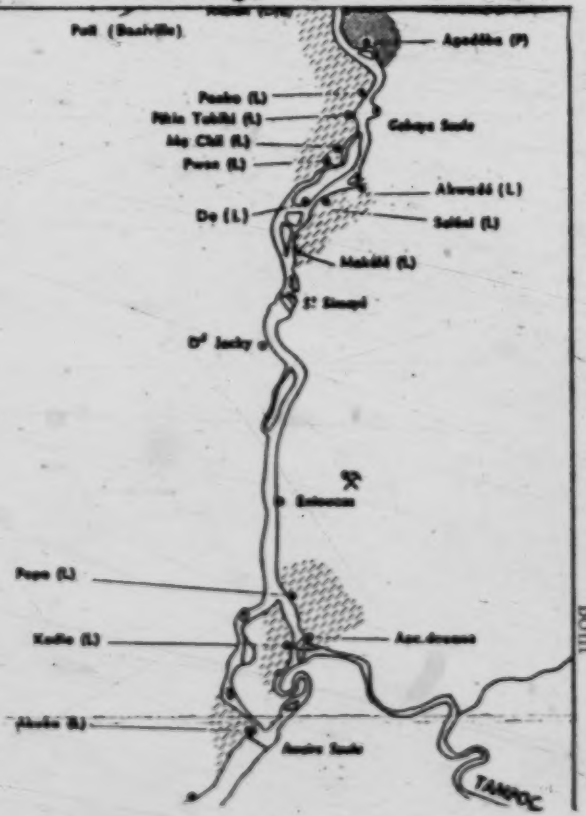
[End Map - B]

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- Boni residence villages
- Boni farming habitations
- Creole villages
- European establishments
- Creole habitations
- Small gold workings
- Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipéiu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



6:Hurault-- 578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

102
103
131
133
162
311
316
361
423
613
614
621

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

(D) Dikan lo

(L) Lapé lo

(Dju) Dju lo

(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo

(P) Papaïston lo

Scale 1/200.000

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

Kadio (L)

Asc. douane

Akaba (L)

Awara Saka

TAMPOC

Haut (P)

LITANI

Indiens Oayana

Source du Litani

Tellega (Papaïston)

Grand Kashi Saka

Petite Soni Saka

6:Hurault--572 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

E-Map Puz